616 A village was not necessarily ruled by two
622 chiefs, one of each moiety. Some camps would only have one chief, another large place, like Telweyit, might have three. At Telweyit there were Lučuši, and [name forgotten], Tokelyuwich, and Kanti, Nutuwich. She said Prairie Falcon was the totem of Lučuši, Prairie Falcon and Raven of Kanti, and did not recall the third.

616 Gifford's information on Tachi moieties, their functions, and totems follows.

The moieties are called by terms cognate with those of the Chukchansi and Gashowu moieties, viz., toxelyuwiš and nutuwuts. The former is rendered "west side," the latter "east side," and [these terms] were said by the informants to be derived from the stems toxi (west) or toxil (eagle) and notu (east). Elsewhere[65] the probability of these terms really referring to "downstream" and "upstream" has been discussed, although my Tachi informants gave hosim for "upstream" and homoti for "downstream."[66]

The aged informant Mary Fernando stated that her father was a neophyte at San Miguel Mission. He told her that the Salinan Indians of the vicinity had two "sides" (moieties) which corresponded to toxelyuwiš and nutuwuts.

With the Tachi, and at least the Nutunutu, moiety exogamy is said to have prevailed.

●[776 787] Similarly, guardian spirits obtained in dreams were often mountain lions and bears rather than totemic animals. A man might belong by birth to a group having the coyote for totem, but get a bear for a guardian spirit. [See Gifford's report on Halhalis, p. 36.]

The Tachi informants described the totemic moiety situation by saying that anciently as well as now people had birds and mammals as "pets"...the term "pet" really is to be interpreted in the sense of totem. There would seem to have been less actual keeping of birds and mammals in captivity than among the Chukchansi, perhaps because of less fixity of habitation.

Associated with the toxelyuwiš moiety are the crow (kankus), the eagle (toxil), the roadrunner, the killdeer, the osprey (soksu), the raven (hotoii), the antelope (soyul), and the beaver (ndebig).

Associated with the nutuwuts moiety are the following creatures, if identification by native description is correct: coyote (katyu), the burrowing owl Speotyto cunicularia (wečiča), the screech owl Otus asio (tokleli), the great horned owl Bubo virginianus (hutulu), the short-eared owl Asio flammeus (sawiyu), an owl called solili (translated as "billy owl," which would

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[65] Kroeber, Handbook, 498.

[66] These terms which refer to north and south fit with the Tachi topography, where the flow of water between Buena Vista and Tulare lakes and the Sanjon de San José into the San Joaquin River is from south to north. (There must have been some misunderstanding between informant and recorder, however, for hosim [north] would be downstream and homoti [south] upstream.) In the eastern portion of the valley where the rivers flow west or northwest, the downstream-upstream analogy fits with the moiety names Tokelyuwich and Nutuwich (westward and eastward). A.H.G.

789 Kroeber gives "teshich gomom as the designation of 'rain doctor' or weather shamans."[95]

Supernatural Creatures

773 776 A very long time ago there were two girls called ta ñai (datura, jimsonweed). In the spring when jimsonweed was in blossom they would go out on the plains to pick these blooms. They made wreaths for their hair and carried bunches of flowers in their hands. They were very beautiful as they danced out over the plains, always at a distance from observers. As they danced they sang, "Now I shake the flowers being carried" (hiya´mi na·watsa´ meke´, elao´ni). Men were fascinated and wanted to catch the girls. They would drink a decoction of jimsonweed in order to see them better. Onlookers would ask the men what they saw, what the girls were doing. The drinkers would run off over the fields trying to catch the girls, but the girls were supernatural (t·pni) and could never be caught. (See section on "Jimsonweed.")

776 Water babies (wi´t·p a´ki, lit., spring baby) were not uncommon in local ponds. They had long black hair and tiny hands. People did not like to see them.

A supernatural dog (t·pni pu'us) lived amongst the button willows at a pond just northeast of J.A.'s house. The dog had no special name. Some supernatural people lived there too; real people never got very close to them.

Wainus is a big snake with a human head. He lives underground, and if he likes a person will come out into view. He helps doctors, but if a person who did not want supernatural power were to see one, he would die. Chicken-hawk [756] down was sprinkled before them if seen. Bob Bautista, a prominent Tachi shaman, longed to see one "but he never did."

Miscellaneous Practices and Beliefs

776 821 An all-black dog was said to be "Thunder's dog." But during a thunderstorm any dog might be whipped out of doors until it yelped, then it would be turned loose and the thunder would cease. This refers to the belief that the Thunder Twins were fostered by a bitch, that they will cease their racket rather than have her suffer.

[307] Most Yokuts people were, and still are, afraid to wear abalone shell ornaments during a storm. If a person were caught out with one in bad weather, it should be torn off and thrown as far as possible. At the spot where it alighted "the thunder would stand right on it," i.e., lightning would strike and take it.

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[95] Handbook, 54, 518.

776 821 An old man whom J.A. knew once had an abalone shell talisman in his pocket. Thunder saw it and tried to get it. But the man saved it by grabbing his dog and whipping her and immediately the thunder stopped.

[301] Abalone shell ornaments (sa´wi·) were worn hanging on a cord at the breast or chest where they caught the sunlight. Their glitter was thought to startle rattlesnakes into giving a warning rattle. During early spring (about April) when the rattlers were emerging from hibernation there might yet be thunderstorms, hence the precautions mentioned above.

827 A coughing spell, when not occasioned by a cold, was attributed to melancholy by J.A., who said, "I get that way when I feel lonesome. Something in my throat jumps and I can't stop it."[96]

825 If one touched eagle down and then touched someone, that person would swell up immediately. Only a person with Eagle as a family totem or a dream helper could handle eagle down with impunity.

821 Windstorms were associated with the death of shamans. J.A. said she "nearly died" once from the activities of a ghost to whom she was distantly related. After a Wowol named Soi´yi´i (Manuel) who was "a big magic doctor" had died and was buried, a terrific wind arose while J.A. was sleeping "and almost turned her upside down."

An eclipse was regarded as the devouring of the moon (or sun) by some creature, probably Coyote, as believed elsewhere. Kroeber states that on these occasions an old Tachi woman would sing and dance and prayerfully beg that a little of the sun be left.[97]

At Summit Lake there was a fire in the bottom. "This is where fire started." (J.A. knows no story about it. She may be referring to a tule fire.) Burned over land (hite´na) is dangerous; if one steps on the ground, one will go down and never come up again. Just water comes up. (This probably refers to some locality of quicksands, possibly around Summit Lake.)

CEREMONIES

Jimsonweed Ritual

276 The Tachi, according to M.G., did not use jimsonweed (ma´nai) as "they were afraid of it." She saw it drunk at Čiau (Kingston) by Nutumutu but does not believe it was used by the Choinuk, Wolasi, Wechihit, or northerners

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[96] Compare Coyote's grief in a Yauelmani myth: "When Prairie Falcon died he felt bad. His heart came out of his mouth, he felt so bad. He would have died but he caught his heart as it was in the air and put it back into his mouth" (Kroeber, Indian Myths, 248).

[97] The Yokuts Language, 374.

304 be the localization of, or point of permeation of, one's supernatural power. The Wukchumni, M.P., said her pattern represented dove's feet because she had Dove totem (fig. 9, d); the Telamni, T.W., said hers represented "a cross because I belong to the Catlick," a tactful evasion (fig. 9, e). M.L.'s forearm had bars on the upper side (fig. 9, c).

Face patterns are shown in figure 9, a, b. M.P. said favorite Wukchumni patterns were two stripes downward from each corner of the mouth or one horizontally from each corner of the nose. (No example of the latter was seen by the recorder.) Tattooing was sometimes done on the thighs, and M.P. once saw an old woman who had several stripes on her chin which continued onto her neck and thence into zigzag lines on her chest, breasts, and thorax. Men to the north (Hoshima) were known to use facial tattooing, but "none down this way." Kroeber shows several tattoo designs.[167]

The tattooing was usually done by some old woman. The pattern was marked on the person with the charred end of a fine-pointed stick. The lines were then abraded with a fine-pointed small arrowhead, and a paste of grease and charcoal was rubbed in lightly. There was no actual cutting, and no person seen with tattooing showed any welting or scarring as a result. The color was dark blue-grey.

HUNTING AND FISHING

Hunting

224 [776] A Wukchumni, J.B., says that his Patwisha father-in-law, Ha ñhaš, was a fine hunter. Deer was his dream helper. He always supplied deer meat for large gatherings and was paid for this service. He ate deer meat, but abstained from it for three days after killing a deer. When about to kill an animal he spoke to it: "I am going to kill you. These people are going to eat you. I kill you every year." When killing a bear he addressed it in the same way "so the [754] bear wouldn't hurt him." (J.B. claimed he had never heard of anyone transforming himself into a bear.)

Great respect was shown deer when they were killed, according to S.G. A hunter would tell the deer "that he wanted him to rise in three days." A plain man, without special dream aid, would just tell the deer he was sorry he had to kill him.

In the old days when a hunter killed a deer, he laid it on a pile of brush while he was skinning it. After it had been quartered and the viscera removed, the parts that remained, the ribs and the shoulder blades, were laid up in a tree. Dogs must never be allowed to touch deer meat or the carcass remnants.

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[167] Handbook, 520, 521, figs. 45, h-l, 46, a-e.

561 hiam pahata muk:s: growing girl, 8 to 10 years
hiam pahata wu'h'not: now big male, i.e., youth 10 to 20 years
goi'yuma: young girl or young matron (marriage not a factor), 10 to 20 years
wit:p mi'tač gutum: "young man," literally, little real male, 20 to 40 years
hiam pahata mitač muk:s: young mature woman, 30 to 40 years
pahata gu'tum: full-grown male (referred specifically to Henry Lawrence, 40 to 50 years)
moho'do gu'tum: old man, 50 or over
modo''o mu'k:s: old woman, past childbearing

SUPERNATURAL POWER AND SHAMANISM

756 787 The informants S.G., J.P., M.P., M.L., and Tm.W. contributed to the general account in this section. The following introductory statement is from S.G.

A doctor begins to practice [illegible]ream like a man would study a book. If he dreams, he goes out into the night and prays to his dream to help him. A man cannot be a doctor unless something tells him to be one. A man who dreams of curing somebody could be a doctor if he liked but he didn't have to do it. If a man wanted to stay ordinary he let his dreams pass, either because he didn't know how to ask their help or he didn't want to bother. Because if you start to get help you have to keep it up or you'll die. Haičača died because he made a mistake in practising.[248] If a man took his dream, he would fast all day and pray at night to his helper. In one or two years he might get enough power to cure. All that time he told nobody what he was trying to do.[249] He just kept dreaming and learning from his dream [helper], and only ate a little bit of food all the time.

Acquisition of Power

787 776 778 When a boy was about the age of ten or a little older, his dreams became significant as a source of power. A lad might decide beforehand what sort of helper he wanted, Rattlesnake, Bear, Coyote, Owl, etc., and he would be instructed to keep his mind upon this until he achieved it. All young people were encouraged to secure some supernatural help to aid them throughout life. The rigorous bathing and abstemiousness imposed upon adolescents was an aid to this end. The cleansing of one's stomach with the tobacco emetic, a method used by adults, and constant praying were thought to induce regular dreaming. When the sought-for

[248] J.P. also referred to this but I could get no account of his death.

[249] Did not tell publicly; he might confide in his parents or a helpful uncle or grandparent.

[P. 109 a] Wukchumni

787 776 778 [232] dream occurred, the dreamer rose and went away from surrounding dwellings to talk to his dream helper, which was usually an animal or bird. He took eagle down with him and sprinkled it over little oak trees. Nothing was seen [no "vision"] during this interlude; it was merely a prayerful acknowledgment of the previous dream appearance of the helper, with a request for continued assistance. S.G. said that the dreamer should repeat this exit from the house about every half-hour after waking from the dream; other informants said that once was sufficient. The real point was that the dreamer should not fall asleep again: probably some found it necessary to remain active lest sleep overcome them. If one fell asleep and the dream were forgotten, it would not only be "lost," but the helper would be so deeply offended it would never come again, or might even cause sickness. The day following the dream the dreamer fasted entirely and went off to some secluded spot to continue his prayerful contacts with his tutelary. A few puffs of smoke might be taken at that time.

[788] All persons with supernatural power, and those respectful to this cosmic force, t·pni, spoke prayerfully to the sun, moon, and morning star when they first saw them each day.

J.P. and M.P. described the procedure of seeking and dealing with supernatural power.

[237 432] If a man wanted to live long or wished for other benefits, he would go to a chief and buy some eagle down (čayi). (He could resell all or any part of this if he wished.) Some winter night, no matter how cold, he would go off to a distant hilltop. He wore no clothes and went about midnight. Before starting he chewed a little tobacco and then spat it out. At the hilltop he would scatter eagle down and in a standing posture "talk to those two tia·as" (Eagle and Wolf [sic; Mountain Coyote]). He would enumerate all those things which he did not want to happen to him and all those which he did want. He stayed and talked this way for about thirty minutes; Eagle or Wolf would reply.

[423] No fasting preceded such an expedition and there was no particular name for the spot where the prayers were made. A chief usually went repeatedly to the same place, which by general consent was known to be his and avoided. Women occasionally sought help in this manner but would not go so far from their home as men. The preferred time for seeking supernatural aid was in midwinter "about Christmas time during the bad month" and it was only done once a year.[250] (It was at this time that youths were forced to rise and bathe in icy water at night.) If the seeker passed a stream of water on the way

[250] Reminiscent of the midwinter spiritual period of certain northwestern tribes (cf. Spier, Klamath Ethnography, 260, 266; Ray, Cultural Relations, 103 ff.).

A [beginning the puberty and initiation ceremony.— Analyst]

787 776 778 to his sanctuary, he would swim in it either going or returning. If the stream were small or merely a spring the supplicant would sprinkle some water on himself.

When he returned home he immediately went to bed. If a dream helper came to him in ensuing sleep and it was the one which was wanted, it was cherished thereafter, and he prayed specifically to this helper when in sickness or in trouble. He might, if he felt inclined, go out again occasionally and pray during the night but "he needn't go so far this time." One of the chief benefits derived from having [754] supernatural power was the assurance of long life for, if the person were in danger of being "shot" by a malicious shaman, his soul or life substance "would not be there (where his body was) but away off on that hill where he had gone to talk."

"What a man dreamed he kept right on him": 787 778 he kept a tangible talisman symbolic of the supernatural helper. A curing doctor might have many helpers, all the birds for example, and he could call on one or more or all of these to aid him when he was curing a patient. He had a talisman for each one.

[828] A dream in the daytime was useless; nor was one on a full stomach of any significance (S.G.).

756 778 787 Although theoretically any one might seek power by this means, and the dream was its only source, there was a tendency for shamanism to "run in families" just as there was for other occupations, such as hunting, and for the same reason: the children were better instructed by their already successful parents. So my informants argued, and the assumption is reasonable. There was no inheritance of power, or of a shaman's position or function.

Any person, man or woman, could seek dream help and use it to help himself or his family. Women, however, never became professional. "There were none up Wukchumni way, there was just one down south" [that S.G. had heard of, probably the oft-mentioned Poi'in].

[776] The dream helper was called ai´nič (from ana ñatswad, to dream), as opposed to poša, the lineage animal symbol acquired by kinship; the same name was given the talisman representing it.

787 778 Supernatural power (tapni) bestowed by the dream helper imbued a talisman symbolic of the helper which every tutelary's protégé possessed. A person might have several talismans representing various helpers. But once a talisman had been used to accomplish some act of curing, it was necessary to have another dream of the helper it symbolized to revitalize it, so to say. The word for any talisman was wai´'ač, a word which also meant "necklace" (a string of beads or anything hanging from the neck; a talisman was sometimes worn that way). The word ainič was more commonly used for a talisman when it referred to the helper whose power

[P. 110 b] Wukchumni.

787 776 825 a good hunter or a bad man. A man who wanted to show he had power through Cougar would wear the claws tied on his arms with cougar sinew (S.G.).

Antelope.--"The little yellow deer (ija hajɨt) was a shaman. His body was just like a net: bullets went right through it. He helped a man to be a doctor, but one who went by this deer did not live long because there were too many rules for a person to follow" (S.G.).[253]

Deer.--If a man were chasing a deer and the animal got tired, it might come back to the hunter and tell him it would make him a powerful doctor (J.P.).

Owl.--The horned owl (hutu'du) was the dream helper of the huhuna dancer. "He could see anything" (M.L.).

Miscellaneous.--Cougar, Wildcat, and Buffalo [sic] (Elk) are three helpers for good hunters (S.G.).

Coyote, Weasel, and Skunk are doctors' helpers (J.B.).

Curing

756 778 All shamans had a collection of talismans, which were usually kept in a sack of skin such as a weasel, otter, skunk, or small wildcat skin. The shouldered basket (osa) was so used sometimes. This collection was not kept around the house but was hidden outdoors in some rocky crevice. Anyone who touched it would get sore fingers or sore eyes. Because of their power these outfits were burned or buried at the owner's death. Only a relative who had at least as much power as the deceased shaman would dare to keep and use the talismans; if he [764] tried to and were insufficiently powerful, he would die. However, shamans were buried like [237] plain people; there was no special disposal. An essential to all curing equipment was eagle down, both loose and rolled into cord; all persons with ṭapni power, whether professional or not, wanted and used this material.

757 Shamans seem to have been called to cure headache, chest pains, chest congestion, heart trouble (vertigo), rheumatism, and chills and fever. Nausea was said to be uncommon, and [753] persons suffering from this usually cured themselves by drinking herbal infusions. These ailments (save nausea) were all thought to be caused by the intrusions of some malignant object which might have been sent by a malicious shaman, by a ghost, or by an offended supernatural animal or bird. The first cause was regarded as the most probable, the last was least likely.

Chills and fever were usually accompanied by headache. To cure this a doctor put water on top of the patient's head and sucked without

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[253] That is, the person made a mistake and offended his helper who caused his death. This is a strange word for antelope, but what other can be meant?

[P, 111 b] Wukchumni

755
[527] Coyote man" [i.e., of Coyote lineage] who did so (S.G.).

The methods used by the shaman Haičača were offered by J.P. and M.P. as examples of the customary curing procedure. (See also Anecdote 10 below.)

[237] Haičača had dreamed of Falcon (limik). He then bought a falcon head from someone, skinned it, leaving the beak intact, and filled the skin with fine tule shreds. He hung beads on threads run through its nostrils, and wrapped the whole thing in many strands of beads. These were never removed even when he was curing. When curing, Haičača dipped the falcon head in water and ran his hands over it. Then he laid it down and rubbed his hands over his patient. This was used on one case, then was useless until he dreamed of Falcon again.

He had an eagle head similarly prepared [237] with which he cured J.P.'s back.

He had a long bear claw (Bear was his family totem), which he used to cure a woman in 755 labor. It was used like the falcon head. He 845 also blew on the woman's back and abdomen. Kneeling before her, he placed his hands on her hips and gently shook her twice. "This made the baby come."

755 Haičača did not sing when curing: he conversed prayerfully with his supernatural helpers (ainič) and to Water which was helping him. Since the water he used was obtained at Gutsnumi, he addressed it as "Gutsnum." Water was [776] a powerful helper. At Gutsnumi there was an 823 underwater person who was adverse to strangers swimming there and pulled them under. Like eagle down, Water was a general assistant in supernatural matters and to dream of it was propitious indication of its willingness to help one, yet it was not a tutelary in quite the same sense, not so personified perhaps, as a flesh-and-blood creature like Cougar, Eagle, Owl, etc.

Miscellaneous Powers

754 Contagious magic.--While the practice of 789 contagious magic was not developed, it was clearly recognized, and Wukchumni took precautions against leaving their hair, saliva, discarded clothing, etc., available to malicious shamans. S.G. denied the practice to the Wukchumni, saying that they left their hair and soiled clothing wherever they wished; he attributed the evil to "southerners." It is difficult in cases described, to distinguish between this idea and that of poisoning, and I am not sure that a difference exists, save that in poisoning an actual contact between the person and the poisoned object seems to be necessary. In either event some very personal possession of the intended victim, such as hair combings, or a piece of dress, is treated with some virulent material or "poison." Whether the

539 778 825 1: Gayton E-5 (1925-1930) 1948 NS29 Yokuts NS29 [R. 113b] Wukchumni,

756 located, Čoiš·šu (dog place); the correct name is pački.

Anecdotes of Supernatural and Curing Experiences

787 776 1. J.P.'s grandmother, Pono·sa, dreamed of a roadrunner which came and hopped on her hand; it told her how to help women in labor. She was not a professional doctor: "this was just her ainɨc" [dream helper].

2. J.P.'s maternal great-uncle, Holo·anši, was a snake handler; J.P.'s poša was Rattlesnake.[259] Once J.P. was bitten by a rattlesnake; [752] he went to his uncle, who cut off the snake, put it in a bag, and later released it near a rock pile. The uncle sucked the wound and put ashes on it; he told J.P. never to kill a snake.

3. In 1926, J.P.'s horse, while grazing, was bitten on the nose by a rattlesnake. It was sick for a week yet recovered although J.P. did nothing to cure it. J.P. said, "It got well because Rattlesnake is my poša. Anybody else's horse would have died. Yes, sir!"

787 789 776 4. J.P.'s maternal great-uncle, Holo·anši was of the Rattlesnake lineage. He had the special power of being invulnerable to bullets, having "dreamed of a gun that didn't go off" [sic]. He dreamed thus:

He was down in a gulley. Two men came along and shot at him, but the bullets did not penetrate his clothes. They called to him to come up, but instead he flew out of his clothes and landed on the far side of the [Kaweah] river. There he turned into a rattlesnake "so that even the horses could not see him."

An analogue to this dream occurred soon after. The old man was down by the river when two white men, one of whom was John Doe,[260] came by on horseback. They called to him and, when he did not respond, shot at him. "The bullets came right at him but didn't hurt him." He called on his poša: instantly he turned into a rattlesnake and slipped away in the underbrush.

J.P. added that dreams of invulnerability were common.

756 789 237 5. The power of flying, known to northern neighbors of the Wukchumni, was mentioned by S.G.

A shaman from Kings River came down to a Wukchumni celebration a long time ago. He was going to be killed by some avengers, but someone warned him. He had three strings of eagle-down cord each about five feet long. At this ceremony he walked out across the assembly space dragging the talismans behind him. Suddenly he vanished from sight. After the trouble was over he reappeared again.

756 787 6. J.B. told of a man who dreamed he was chased by a ghost (tawatsa) all the way from Dunlap to Drum Valley. When he arrived there, a shaman already knew what had happened and told of it. "Doctors always knew what other people dreamed."

[259] He followed his maternal lineage totem because his paternal ancestry was part white.

[260] J.P. added, "John Doe went blind because he wasn't a good man. He had a lot of white doctors to help him but he didn't treat them right."

[P. 1156] Wukchumni

789 825 [301] with tobacco as rattlesnakes were said to abhor the smell and would go away. Shiny ornaments, such as an abalone-shell pendant, were worn in the fields in spring as they would startle the snakes and make them rattle.

789 301 821 But such ornaments were dangerous to wear at other seasons because they attracted thunder [lightning]. S.G. related the following as an illustration.

When S.G. was about fifteen, his father remarried. The new wife had a small boy whom the father hated. The man put an abalone pendant (tu´ta) on the child and told him to go sit under a certain tree. Soon the lightning struck the youngster and his dog. S.G. was not far away, and carried the burned child home. This happened at Pupunao.

To wear an abalone ornament on any cloudy day would invite a thunderstorm, according to M.P.; M.L. said the ornaments offended Thunder, "made him get mad."

755 [823] A black substance from underground (hitumen?) was heated on a rock, then applied to the top of the head to rid one of bad dreams caused by ghosts.

825 Goldfinches (soi´soi) sat out in the brush and whistled to people when it was time for them to gather blackberries. M.L. knew of no other bird or animal who did such a thing.

776 At Gutsnumi, in the bottom of the swimming pool, lived an old woman named Moča´ta who pounded acorns all day long. If a stranger went to swim there, she would grab his feet and pull him down to her house. (Not long ago a flood came bringing quantities of sand which spoiled the pool as a swimming place.)

552 A railroad train is called hu´da (lit., it cries) in reference to its whistle.

PLEASURE DANCES

796 Evenings spent in pleasure with professional entertainment occurred not more than once a month in any one village, as there was so much intertribal and intervillage visiting for all such festivities. The kind of dances that were given by the shamans depended upon the chief's choice. His winatum would tell the shamans what to dance. Besides the regular schedule of [535] dances -- Bear Dance, Snake Ritual, Beaver Dance, etc. -- there was the dance for entertainment called the kam or watiyod performed by shamans all the year round.

Kam

535 The kam was one of a few dances performed purely for the entertainment of spectators. Whether the dance was always the same, i.e., had specific songs and steps which differenti-

[EP. 158 Q] DUMNA

756
789 ko ´no·no·

si li ka ´na ´ha·
[repeated twice]

This B.W. could not or would not translate. The first and second words are probably "song renderings" of rain (se'el) and water (i ´l:k) and supernatural power (t:pni).

[821] When there was a big rain and one wanted to stop it, one would strike a dog. The cries of this animal would be heard by a celestial dog who caused thunder and controlled [?] the weather.

BELIEFS

715 B.W. said that his father told him the dead got up in three days and went above, where God is. B.W.'s dead brothers and sister were already there.

776 177 He conceived God as God (not t:pni or Eagle), but Jesus Christ as the ya ´y:l hawk and son of Eagle.

773 821 Thunder is the result of noisy behavior by Roadrunner, Blackbird, Raven, and Dog, who are above in the sky. The big dog, whose name is Ya ´ol:č, makes the most noise. "He can hit anything and smash it down. He is mean. He makes all the big rains." When he hears the cries of a dog on earth, who is being beaten because of the rain, he makes the rain cease. B.W. had never heard of thunder being twins or associated with tule.[42]

An eclipse of the sun or moon is caused by an eagle spreading its wings over it. B.W. could remember no attempt being made to change this condition. (See Kechayi information.)

805 Three seasons, which are the natural moods of the climate, were distinguished: tiša ´miu, spring, about February to April; hai'a ´lu, summer, May to October; tomo ´ksiu, winter, November through January.

CEREMONIALS AND RITUALS

796 276 Jimsonweed ritual.---Jimsonweed (ta ´nai) was taken in the spring; "in the summer it was poison." Two Choinimni took it in the summertime and died. It was drunk by both sexes. This informant said he took it each spring with his father and uncle; yet, as in other matters, he was unable to bring his mind to bear on details. He claimed "people quit eating meat for one year before taking tanai."[43] During that year the person went out each night regardless of the weather and talked prayerfully

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[42] Mobonuch and Chunut beliefs, respectively.

[43] Perhaps this was only for the first taking. If it was taken each year, as B.W. claims he did, the drinker would have to become "vegetarian."

766 they saw a falcon's nest One of the boys was determined to go up and take the young; the other tried to dissuade him. The older boy started up anyway; the younger climbed more slowly, as he was afraid. Just then the parent birds returned and attacked the older boy. He was far up where there was no protection; the younger crouched behind some bushes. The birds beat at the boy until he lost his grip and fell down the face of the precipice. "He was a rag when he landed at the bottom." His companion crawled down and went after the seed-gatherers. They approached cautiously as they were all afraid of the angry birds. There was nothing could be done for the mangled lad, so the women put his remains in a carrying basket, dug a hole with their digging sticks, and buried the whole thing on the spot.

SUPERNATURAL POWER AND SHAMANISM

Acquisition of Power and Curing

756 The doctoring profession ran in families: E.M. claimed the profession was always inherited. But this does not refer to an inheritance of power, which was not transferable, but to the mere fact that a doctor's son usually became a doctor and that, in tangible terms, he acquired the accumulated wealth in his father's cache (pa ́čki). A son did not invariably become a shaman because his father was one; among several sons one might become a doctor. If no sons followed him, a shaman's cache was "lost forever" as no one else could touch it (see below).

776 616 756 The supernatural creatures helped only members of the moiety with which they were associated. For the Nutuwich moiety Horned Owl and Bear were the "strongest" helpers; for Tokelyuwich, Eagle was the "strongest." "Sometimes Eagle would try to get a Nutuwich man and he would die quick." [Apparently he would die whether he "accepted" or not.] [823] Water was a very powerful helper, and a large stream, like the San Joaquin River, particularly so.

756 [562] Women usually were not doctors. E.M. remembers only one, Wojilit, who sang at funerals and with doctors in the sweat house dance.

756 764 At his death a shaman's outfit was burned, or buried with him. If anyone else, even a shaman's son, tried to use it, he would die. Nothing was left to the son save the objects in the pački which were pure wealth, not supernatural talismans. It is not clear whether these objects were those the father had secured through his practice or whether they were gifts bestowed by his animal helpers; probably the former.

756 558 422 Doctor's cache.--It was thought that a doctor's cache (pački) was always located in a hill with a rock as a door. There was no mark of ownership. After the shaman's son had received his power, he could enter the pački at will. He accomplished this by dancing outside

the door and calling on the name of his father or grandfather, to whom the cave was supposed to have belonged, and the door opened. Within were baskets, money, feather ornaments, skins -- all valuable things. He could take anything he wanted from the left side of the enclosure. The right side was filled with articles that belonged to his most ancient ancestors, and these "had too much power." They served as guardians of the place, for their power would kill anyone who touched them. Thus, if a stranger should succeed in entering the pački, he would be afraid to take anything as he would not know which ones he could safely touch [sic] (see below, Čipit's death). After a doctor had acquired much power, his helpers might tell him to use some of the tabu things, "but if a doctor did that he would get mean and care no more for people or being a good doctor."

Procedure.--A man who wanted to become a shaman would seek dreams from adolescence on. When a supernatural helper visited him in a dream, he rose and went out into the hills, where he "lay down to dream some more." The dream helper, usually a bird or animal, came to him, gave him a song and instructions about curing, and told him what talismans to use. The man stayed out all day, fasting and talking prayerfully to his assistant. As the man dreamed more, his power increased; the "animals" came more readily, so he was often away for days at a time. It would be said of such a man, "pana ´nɨt a ´mɨn časa ´šti (coming his helper; če ´saš, the supernatural helper, lit., dog).

When a man had dreamed sufficiently, all the animals of his moiety gathered on a hill near a [his father's ?] cache. The man was there too, and the animals opened the pački, telling him to enter. He stayed in there four days. No one at home knew where he was, and often people went out in search of him. While he was in the pački the animals told him what to do. They gave him more songs and danced with him all night. They gave him his regalia: "this just appeared on him, nobody knew where it came from." Later on, when he needed more things -- baskets, beads, or feathers -- he would go back to the pački to get them. At the end of four days the animals sent him out, but instead of going home he remained in the hills two more days [total, six]. The animals instructed him to do this as "he would die" if he went home too soon.[69] When he did go home, he made his first dance (Shaman's Debut), announcing the beginning of his career. He did not again dream of his helpers but called on them when he needed their aid.

Shaman's debut.--When a man felt that his power was sufficient (and usually he had tested

[69]This is the pattern often found as a codicil to tales of supernatural experiences from the southern half of California. They must be told of at a certain time, usually not before six days have elapsed. (See Gayton and Newman, Myths, abstract 139, note 21.)

[P. 203 b] Chukchansi

668
796 When the Ghost Dance was introduced at Wasamo, J.R. was about ten to twelve years old. [177] A few whites were about, but not many. Chinese and Mexicans were looking for gold; there were Chinese camps all along Fresno River.

[775] A group of people came from Bishop Creek and told the people at Wasamo that their dead had returned to life, that "they had come up out of the ground." They told the people at Wasamo to dance; that, when the dead came, they would bring with them a small piece of food ["Indian food"] which would prove to be inexhaustible, no matter how much was eaten from it.

[535] They danced in a circle, men and women holding hands and dragging their feet. There was no special dress: the aboriginal costume was still in use. However, in the morning [302] after bathing, red clay was put on the face. This red paint was brought from Bishop Creek, as the Miwok and others did not have it.[142] The men from Bishop Creek sang while the others danced. These singers each had a single eagle wing feather tied on the head "with some kind of rag." No one else wore feathers. The dancing continued all night and in the morning everyone went to bathe. Even little children were put in the water and washed.

This initial event lasted about one week. About a year later, after more people had died, there was another. J.R. thinks that there were about three of these dances in two years. There was the first at Wasamo [or at Ahwahnee ?], another at Bill Basall's (Bersell's), which is the site of Aplau, Sloknič's village, and another near here at Totono which is about a half-mile across the creek from J.R.'s present house. The dances were abandoned after that because no dead people came back: Said J.R., "Never seen one back here yet!"

SUPERNATURAL POWER AND SHAMANISM

Sickness

754 Several anecdotes of illness were told by
776 N.W., whose father-in-law was a shaman. In spite of the fact that she believed this man, Xatali (Bill Wyatt), responsible for the death of several of her children, she bore him no grudge; in fact, claimed that the fault was not really his. He was a good man: the illnesses and deaths he caused were due to his being subject to his supernatural helper's will. His helper was Coyote. He killed seven of N.W.'s children "because if he didn't kill his own son's children, he would die himself. Coyote would tell him to do it or he'd die." After
754 N.W.'s seven children were killed, she "didn't have any more left, so he had to die himself."

[439] [142] Red paint was a trade article between Eastern Mono and Yokuts. It was not newly introduced at the time of the Ghost Dance, as implied by Powers (p. 381).

W Y 224 [381] portion; otherwise all parts were regarded as equivalent in quality.

Fall was the favorite time for hunting deer although no seasonal restrictions were observed. In the spring, bucks with soft horns would be killed in order to secure the horns for glue.

Bear hunting.--B.O.'s father's brother, Wanuk, was a fine hunter; he used the following method, as did some other intrepid hunters. A feeding ground of a bear was selected, and during the animal's absence the hunter arranged a crude scaffold of logs in an oak tree above the feeding place.[159] Before sundown the man took up his position on the scaffold where he must remain all night. During the night, usually just before dawn, the bear came, and the hunter, to encourage him, dropped down acorns from above. As the bear fed and eventually turned in a vulnerable position, the hunter shot. Should the bear discover the man above and not be fatally wounded, he might climb the tree in a rage. As the bear died or staggered to a safe distance, the man descended and went home to get help in taking the carcass to the village. The meat was divided among his family, friends, and helpers; naturally no one with a Bear totem was involved in the killing or eating. The hide and claws were "sold to a person with Bear ibuk." The hunter did not indulge in any formulaic address or ritual before or after killing a bear.

W Y [825]

W Y 224 776

Both B.O. and S.O. said it was not essential to have a dream helper to be a skillful hunter. One might get supernatural aid for this from Cougar (B.O.'s dream helper), but normally "if a man was a good hunter, his son would be too." A special term, ha'haš (Michahai), was applied to a hunter "who was so good he could kill anything."

W Y 224

Squirrel smoking.--Ground squirrels (šiti'la, Waksachi) were plentiful in the foothills. Usually one man, seldom more than two, would hunt them by smoking them out of their holes. Boys often helped. This method was called ili'ni mak šiti'la (fanning we squirrels). All vegetation was carefully removed from around entrances to runways. Then dried grass or weeds "of any kind" were stuffed into the holes, packed in as tight as possible. An area about fifty feet square would be so treated, with about six holes in the center left open. Then the grass was ignited and the men or boys went from hole to hole, fanning into them with feather fire fans. Smoke would ooze out of the open holes and soon squirrels would stagger forth. The hunters grabbed them and wrung their necks. The animals could be heard underground running and squeaking, and when all was silent the holes were dug open to secure those which had suffocated.

Cottontails were sometimes smoked out of their burrows in the same manner.

[159] Mentioned by Kroeber as a Yokuts method (ibid., 529).

W Y 624 were "always picked out by the tia'a" (S.O.). Their only function was to assist as financial sponsors of mourning ceremonies or other celebrations for which much money was to be expended. The chief supplied the major sum and the secondary chiefs made up any deficit. The secondary chiefs at Tušao appointed by Kotobič (Bill Tyner) were Halo'pča (Coyote Jim, a shaman), Šo'o'k (Bob ----), and Hai'kao (the informant S.O.). The money they contributed was given to the chief, who had it distributed among the reciprocal "washers" at the mourning ceremonies.

Y W 624 613 The winatum (na'tinab, Waksachi) had the same duties among Michahai and Waksachi as among the Yokuts tribes. The Waksachi held that Roadrunner (o'i'o'i') was the totemic symbol of the winatum lineage, but admitted Dove (he'wi) as a secondary or equivalent totem. This means that a Waksachi messenger, while regarding Roadrunner as his patrilineally inherited totem, would yet not kill nor eat a dove, and might even say, "Dove is my ibuk," whereas his children would not necessarily respect Dove unless they took up a winatum's office.

W Y 624 The winatum received payment for all his services, both from the sender and receiver of a message. When going about to announce a mourning ceremony he carried a cane which, according to S.O., was undecorated and about eight feet long.

Lineage Totems

W Y 613 The animal associated with a family line, patrilineally inherited and venerated, was called in Michahai poša, in Waksachi, ibuk. The reciprocal word pošam, for the person who had the poša was frequently on S.O.'s lips. In

[text continued on top of p. 231b]

W Y	Person	Tribe
●	Kalmišet, winatum	Michahai
	Tčaodit	Waksachi
619	Ya'ailat	Entimbich (?)
613	Takač, chief	Entimbich
	Wotuš	(?)
776	Hawanuč	Wukchumni
●	Mosus	Entimbich
778	Čeči	Entimbich
	"Buffalo Bill," messenger	Wobonuch
	Kučum	Choinimni
	Hučač	(?)
	Waja, I	Wobonuch
	Kuijal	(?)
	Wilolohi	Wobonuch
	Supana	Wobonuch
	Upe''ač	Entimbich (?)
	Etak	Waksachi
	Halopča	Waksachi
	Palaha	Waksachi
	Haipuš, singer	Wobonuch
	Pušlilin, shaman	Chukaimina

[list continued on middle of p. 231b]

W Y 613 trying to conclude just what animals were lineage totems, S.O. thought over a number of people, naming, as they came to mind, those whose poša he knew. He carefully distinguished between the lineage animal (poša) and the dream helper (aiˊnaˑč); when he knew the latter he named it. This list is given below. In the Waksachi vocabulary of birds and animals given by B.O. (pp. 223-224) is his identification of animals as lineage totems. It will be seen that the creatures so functioning are definitely limited.

W Y 613 778 At Tušao there was no one who had Snake poša, and at Čitatu there was no Bear pošam whom S.O. or B.O. could recall. S.O. had never heard of Fish as a Totem, nor were buzzard or deer ever family symbols. Some people "might have had" Crow, but he did not recall any specifically. Weasel could be "a dream helper for anybody but he was never anybody's poša." Before human beings were here, i.e., in the prehistoric animal era when Eagle was chief, "Crow and Roadrunner were winatums along with Dove. They all ran around and helped." The Waksachi lean toward Roadrunner as the winatum's poša rather than Dove.

W Y 616 Of moieties S.O. knew practically nothing. He said some Tachi had told him about "Eagle being Nutuwich and Falcon Tokelyuwich" [even this is wrong] but he "had never heard of anybody doing like that" [having two classes of people]. He insisted that neither the Waksachi, Wobonuch, and Chukaimina nor the Michahai had any moiety arrangement. About the Choinímni he "didn't know."

W Y 582 People married without regard to totemic animal relationship; the degree of blood relationship was the determining factor.

W ● Y 613 619 ● 776 778

Totem	Dream helper
Dove	---
Eagle	---
Dove	---
Eagle	---
Eagle	---
Eagle	---
Eagle	---
Bear	---
Dove, Roadrunner	---
Dove	---
Eagle	---
Eagle	---
Dove	---
Eagle	Cougar (for hunting)
Bear	Bear (for dancing)
Eagle	---
Owl	---
Owl	---
Eagle	Cougar (hunting)
Fox	---
Snake	Coyote

W Y 787 782 181 so to obtain longevity. A man, like S.O., could ask his dream helper to cure or aid some other person, often a young relative, without being considered a real shaman. The desire for good health and long life was a common one; as voiced in prayerful address to the sun, moon, and stars it usually ran something like this: "I see you [Sun], I see you all the time. Help me to have a good life." Water, particularly that of springs, was thought to be immortal -- "it is everywhere all the time" -- and, if dreamed of, was a sponsor of longevity. Whenever S.O. came upon a little spring or creek he "sprinkled a little bit on himself so he would live long."

W Y 787 778 776 The dream, the dream helper, and the talismans used to represent the helper were all called by the same term, ainč. The talisman was usually some part of the animal dreamed of, and while, as a profane object, it might be secured by purchase, it was nevertheless sacred and empowered with the supernatural force, tá pni. Once it became a talisman, it was never sold.

A dream helper could visit only one person at a time, but yet might visit several persons the same night. [The likelihood of many persons having the same dream the same night is slight; and the fact might not happen to be disclosed, as such matters were not spoken of in open or common conversation.] When a talisman of a certain helper has been used once, it loses its power and must be redreamed. Hence the need for several dream helpers and talismans if one wanted much and dependable supernatural power. Talismans were loaned among friends and worked as well for another as for the owner. (Wukchumni mention thefts of these.) But they were never sold. Shamans frequently assisted each other by lending talismans, or, retaining them themselves, used them to help another accomplish his purpose.[178]

W Y 787 828 As to the nature of dreaming, S.O. could only say that it was one's spirit moving about and having the experience. "When you go to sleep, you walk around some place. I have gone off to those springs around here lots of times. Your spirit [aha ´bawa, Michahai] goes anywhere." It is the ahabawa that has all dream experience: people who meet in dreams are ahabawa. To illustrate this further S.O. said he once had a home in Drum Valley where he was very happy, living with his wife, and after her death he continued to live there with his mother-in-law. Now, even today, his ahabawa goes over there: he sees the place, although he is blind and he knows the house is no longer there. He often

[178] This was especially true when shamans allied for nefarious purposes (cf. Gayton, Yokuts-Mono Chiefs and Shamans, 393).

2: Kroeber E-5 (ca. 1918) 1953
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MYTHOLOGY.

773 776 Yokuts mythology lacks the organization and leaning toward spirituality that characterize native beliefs in the region of the Sacramento Valley. Traditions are not built into a system, and speculation as to the mystery of the world and life is not even naïvely profound. The creators are all animals, with the Eagle at their head as wise and dignified chief. The Coyote is his presuming assistant, often ridiculous, at times inefficient; on other occasions, when not in direct competition with his chief, possessed of strange powers. He brings disaster into the world only rarely; death is the result of the Meadowlark's folly, or the desire of the insect Kokwiteit; but Coyote assents. He aids in securing fire, in stealing the sun for the future world, and advises the Eagle to send the Duck to dive for the earth from the primeval stump which alone projects from the universal first water. A favorite figure is *Limik*, the swiftly swooping Falcon, silent, determined, wise, a warrior, whose only food is tobacco, and whose supernatural abilities are great; but a victim in gambling. His coadjutor is his friend the Raven. The Condor is a plotter, a cannibal and robber, but he is overcome by the Falcon, and by the Eagle when he threatens the latter's supremacy. The Owl is a powerful shaman, the Antelope the swift runner who wins from Deer and helps to steal fire. The Hummingbird is Coyote's son, who excels his makeshift father.

This animal pantheon, varied and distinctive as it is, seems strange as set against the more abstract deities of the Maidu, the Wintun, and the Yuki; or had this aspect as long as it was believed that the Miwok alone observed totemism. Now that it is known that this set of beliefs extends to most of the Yokuts also, their traditions, uncoordinated as they remain on the surface, are perhaps more than mere fanciful beast fables, and may fit into a scheme more or less allied to the totemic classification and its connected dualistic plan of chieftainship, marriage, and ritual.

776 171 The southern Californian concepts of the god that dies—Wiyot, Matavilya, Tuchaipa—of the first Sky father and Earth mother; and of the birth and wanderings of mankind; together with many associated episodic incidents, are all lacking among the Yokuts—totally, it would appear. It is clear that mythically a sharp cleavage separates the San Joaquin Valley from the southern end of the State, and that the southwestern influences which have so profoundly permeated the tribes of the latter region, both in traditions and ritual, have not transcended the barrier of the Tehachapi.

[177] The Yokuts Jimson weed puberty rite has already been referred to as of southern origin. The most specific development of this religion, however, a later cult developed by the Gabrielino and spread

2: Kroeber E-5 (ca. 1918) 1953
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177

out from them, failed to reach the Yokuts. This is clear both from their nonuse of sand paintings and their ignorance of the great deity Chungichnish or any equivalent.

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177

On the other hand, the Yauelmani, and perhaps other southern Yokuts tribes, appear to have borrowed from the nearer Shoshoneans or southern Californians, probably the Kitanemuk, the concept of a group of gods, apparently anthropomorphic, and associated with ritual rather than myth. Three of these, who have no exact Shoshonean counterpart, have already been mentioned in the Jimson weed rite; but the full number is seven, of whom four correspond in name to the first four among six Serrano deities. As referred to in an intoned prayer, recited not so much for the achievement of any specific wish as for the general fulfillment of good fortune, these deities are the following:

[782
539]

Do you see me!
See me, Tüñshiut!
See me, Pamashiut!
See me, Yuhahait!
See me, Echepat!
See me, Pitsuriut!
See me, Tsukit!
See me, Ukat!
Do you all help me!
My words are tied in one
With the great mountains,
With the great rocks,
With the great trees,
In one with my body
And my heart.
Do you all help me
With supernatural power,
And you, day,
And you, night!
All of you see me
One with this world!

A certain vastness of conception and profoundness of feeling, rising above any petty concrete desire, can not be denied this petition, crude though the undeveloped vocabulary of its speech leaves its wording.

SHAMANISM.

756
192

The Yokuts shaman is called *antu* or *angtu*—with a reference to poisoning—by the southern tribes; *tuponot* by the Tachi; *teish*, "maker," by the Chukchansi. The latter word reappears in the south as *tesh* and with the Tachi as *teshich gonom* as the designation of the "rain doctors" or weather shamans. *Hopodno*, sometimes

2: Kroeber E-5 (ca. 1918) 1953
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it was so used as a conscious metaphor or from deliberate desire to present as personal something known to be impersonal, or as general something known to be specifically limited. It is just as strained, or more so, to force this alternative on the less developed and simpler terminology of uncivilized people. 778

The choice that has been made between the understanding of *mana*, *orenda*, or *manitou* as denotive of an essence, or of a particularized ghostlike personality, has done violence to a distinctive quality of the concepts residing in these words, namely, their undifferentiated poise between our two extreme formulations. A native who has learned the significance of our phrases "essence," "pervading quality," "intangible diffused power," will of his own accord give these definitions for his own concept; but at other times he will as blithely render it by "spirit" in the sense of something limited, personal, and spatial.

With the Chukchansi, *beniti* means clairvoyant, and among the Yanelmani *suhua* denotes the faculty of magical creation out of nothing by means of blowing. 778 192

A ghost is *hichesin* or *hitwais* to the Yokuts. The soul is called *ilit* by the Tachi. The word for heart, *honhon* or *honghong*, is not used in this sense.

There is bare possibility that shamanism, the individual relation of persons to what is *tipni*, is distantly related to the totemic observances and beliefs of the Yokuts, but specific evidences of direct connections are rare. One of the few is the coincidence that both the "pet" or captive or totemic animal, and the doctor's guardian spirit from whom his *tipni* power emanates, are called *puus* or *cheshesh*, "dog"; *cheshesh nim ngohoo*, "my dog is the grizzly bear," a Yaudanchi bear shaman says. But again, poverty of vocabulary can not be relied upon to prove a common growth of institutions. 778 756 825

SOURCE OF THE SHAMAN'S POWER.

The northern California idea of shamanistic power is bound up with the notion of control over small, animate, disease-bearing objects, these material "pains" having many of the faculties of spirits. This special form of the nearly universal concept that sickness is produced by an injected substance is not even in rudiment a part of the San Joaquin Valley culture. The Yokuts shaman owns a spirit. This may be a monster, or an animal that turns into a man, or possibly a permanently disembodied spirit. It is certainly most often one of the two former. It may be met in actuality, or dreamed of, or both. But it is a being, with an independent existence, and with a defined relation between it and the medicine man; not a little noxious thing, a sort of animated fetish or amulet, that he swallows and keeps inside his body. 756 776

3: Latta Y-5 (1923-1948)1949 NS29 Yokuts NS29

MDB&M) was called *Ho-sho'-shud.* Northeast of present Merriman (NE ¼ Section 7, T18S, R27E, MDB&M) was a Yokodo village named *Sheudu* (She-oo'-doo). The Wukchumne village on the sand flats across the river to the north was called *Unow* (Oo'-now).

The old Yokodo main village was known by the name of the tribe. It was located on the south bank of the Kaweah River directly north of Exeter where the Exeter golf course was later established (SW¼ Section 22, T18S, R26E, MDB&M).

The bare ridge sloping to the north from the highest portion of Rocky Hill, in Yokodo Territory (center of Section 6, T18S, R27E, MDB&M), was known as *Hawshaw Shido,* meaning Paint Place. The Yokodo mined there a white earth that they traded among the surrounding Yokuts tribes who used it for making white paint.

The Lime Kiln being the upstream limits of both Yokodo and Kaweah, as well as the downstream limits of the Wukchumne, the site was occupied by all three tribes. On the Kaweah River about three miles above Lemon Cove was a Wukchumne village known as *Gotow.* Slick Rock, on the Kaweah River above Lemon Cove, was called *Pahdin,* meaning Place to Go Under. The water hole beside it was named *Ahdit Wisha.* It was thought that an evil spirit dwelt under Pahdin and pulled swimmers into the water hole and drowned them. Pahdin was the extreme upstream limits of the Wukchumne.

Tawpongaw was the name of the rocky hill about a half-mile east of Lemon Cove (SE ¼ Section 2, T17S, R27E, MDB&M). The name means Buckeye Place, as the hill was once well covered with buckeye trees. There was a spring and an old Wukchumne village there of the same name.

About one-fourth mile up the Kaweah River from the bridge on the highway between Lemon Cove and Woodlake (SE ¼ of Section 34, T17S, R27E, MDB&M) is a rock called *Mawyucaw,* Whirlwind Place. It lies close to the west side of the Dry Creek Road where it runs close to the west bank of Limekiln Creek. About one mile north of Mawyucaw (west portion of Section 26, T17S, R27E, MDB&M) the Dry Creek Road enters a little valley which the Wukchumne called *Shuckoyu,* meaning Elk Valley.

The junction of Dry Creek and Kaweah River was called *Chowpow. Tiupinish* was the name of Wukchumne Hill which

3: Latta Y-5 (1923-1948)1949 NS29 Yokuts NS29

is near the depot at Lemon Cove. Near the bridge across the Kaweah River on the road between Woodlake and Lemon Cove was a salt spring which the Wukchumne called *Tushow* (ow as in cow). They obtained salt by boiling and evaporating the water.

Three miles northeast of Woodlake, the Pohut home, (NW ¼ of Section 28, T17S, R27E, MDB&M) was *Tahponguh*, or Buckeye Springs.

The small lone hill, about a half mile southeast of Lind Cove, was known as *Kowichow* (Kow-ih'-chow).

The mixed color paintings on Bacon Hill, north of Redbanks, and the hill itself, were called *Hucha Ingutch*, meaning Writings.

About one-half mile west of Woodlake is a low swale running north and south. It was named *Ahd-tow*, meaning Salt Gathering Place. Salt grass still grows in the bottom of it.

At the east end of the straight stretch of pavement leading east from Woodlake is a small flat, below a very rocky gulch (NW ¼ of Section 33, T17S, R27E, MDB&M). This was a favorite place for gathering grass nuts (*kawatchip*). It was named *Kawatch Pawme*. In the old days there was a fine spring there. About three hundred yards northeast, and uphill from Kawatch Pawme, is a small flat called *Hawyaw Heitch*. A mythological spirit guarded the spring there and claimed that he could hear whenever anyone spoke his name. The name means Name Calling Place.

On the Dry Creek Road, which runs north from the bridge across the Kaweah River between Woodlake and Lemon Cove, are several Indian landmarks. To the north, as this road leaves the hills and starts across the first small valley, (west portion of Section 26, T17S, R27E, MDB&M) there is an old acorn-grinding site. It is about seventy-five yards west of the road and is marked by granite rocks containing many acorn pounding mortars. Its name was *Pachakish* (Pah-chah'-kish). Due north of this site, at the end of the straight stretch of road is a small bare hill which was called *Tacayu* (Tah-cah'-yoo).

West of Tacayu about a mile and a half is a spring which was known as *Shuquoyun* or Elk Place. It is at the foot of the grade leading to the Pohut place and Buckeye Springs (Tahponguh). In the hills just east of Lemon Cove (SW¼ of Section 1, T18S, R27E, MDB&M) there was a fine spring and a village named Choyo. Over the hill southeast of Lemon Cove

3: Latta Y-5 (1923-1948)1949 NS29 Yokuts NS29

was the village of *Ustunu* (Oo'-stoo-noo). At the Lime Kiln Hill above Lemon Cove, on the south bank of the river (NW ¼ of Section 35, T17S, R27E, MDB&M) was the village of *Hososhud*. On the northeast slope of WukchumneHill at Lemon Cove, and extending to the northeast, was the Wukchumne village of *Shonoyu*.

North of Woodlake (SW ¼ of Section 13, T17S, R26E, MDB&M) is a small, rocky, lone hill. It was named *Bawsu*, meaning Hollow. A spirit was thought to live inside of it. Back of the rocky range of hills north of Bawsu was a village named *Awnew*. A dwarf variety of tule, known as *awn*, grew there. This site is at an old homestead settled in early days by "Mitch" Work (NW ¼ of Section 18, T17S, R27E, MDB&M).

In the edge of the hills north of Antelope Valley, northeast of Woodlake about five miles, was the most northerly village of the Wukchumne (SW ¼ of Section 17, T17S, R27E, MDB&M). It was named *Wuknaw* and was an important antelope hunting and seed gathering place. The site is marked by many mortars cut into the outcropping granite by ages of acorn pounding. The high peak northeast of Wuknaw one mile was called *Tuyow* because an Indian hunter was once accidentally shot there with an arrow (*tuyosh*).

About one-half mile west of Wuknaw was a village named *Wipanche*. There was a spring at the site which was at the edge of a hill. At the site of the old Toler home, one-half mile northeast of Woodlake, is a small granite rock-topped knoll which was named *Koseu* (Ko-se'-oo).

Above Lemon Cove several miles, and north of the highway (SW ¼ of Section 25, T17S, R27E, MDB&M) is a landmark known as Eagle Ridge which ends in a peak which the Wukchume called *Teduntow*, meaning Rolling Down Place. This name resulted when an Indian gambler was killed as he tried to roll down the hill to win a bet. Eagle Ridge slopes down to the north bank of Kaweah River where it ends in a bluff. The Wukchumne called this place *Otoy Yahsid*, meaning Falling Off Place. As two Indian friends were looking over the bluff, one pushed the other, who fell into the river and was drowned.

Rocky Hill east of Exeter was named by the Yokodo, *Chahka Shahna*, meaning Live Oak Place.

The village of *Moiyuk* was located at the pointed hill northeast of Lemon Cove, (SE ¼ of Section 35, T17S, R27E,

3: Latta Y-5 (1923-1948)1949 NS29 Yokuts NS29

101 103 131 361 The waterfall on South Tule River, just below the Painted Rock, was called *Huhonanshe* (Hoo-ho-nahn'-she). There was once a village there having the same name. Between the forks of Tule River and South Tule is a small round hill which was known as *Tonawuhchin* (To-naw-uh'-chin), meaning Indian Undertaker. A village just below it was known by the same name.

The high rocky butte a little southeast of the Painted Rocks on upper Tule River Indian Reservation was named *Ketelmun* (Ke-teel'-mun). The Painted Rock was called *Hocheu* (Ho-che'-oo). Soda Springs, below the Painted Rock, was known as *Tihtih Ilkow*. A small soda spring, about one-fourth mile below the above Soda Springs, and in the south bank of the river, was called *Ipew*. The large ridge lying between the Painted Rock Fork and Bone Canyon Fork of Tule River was named *Katilmuh*. On the upper portion of Katilmuh was Eagles Spring, or *Trok'-e-lin Ill'-kow*. About a mile above the Painted Rock, near the dam in Tule River, is a place where whirlwinds form. It was named *Sokwin Tindu*.

776 532 *Soksouh* (Sok-so'-uh) is the name of a bad, supernatural spirit, and was applied to the large figure painted on the ceiling of the Painted Rock at Tule River Indian Reservation. This painting resembles the stretched skin of a mountain lion holding the sun in its mouth.

South of the Yaudanchi, on upper Deer Creek and upon south Tule were the Bokninuwad. Practically nothing is known of this tribe, except that their name means Finders, Keepers.

Further south of the Bokninuwad on upper White River and possibly Rag Gulch were the *Kumachisi* (Koo-mah-che'-se). About two miles above the village of White River, in the stream bed, is a large flat rock about which the Kumachisi Yokuts told an interesting story. The rock was called *Towuhwuts*. About three hundred yards farther up the river, and on the north bank, was the Kumachisi village of *Kelseu*. The Kumachisi village of *Kayte Ilkow* was located where the white village of Woody is now. It was named for the nearby sulphur spring. Kayte Ilkow means Stinking Water.

White people probably adopted the Indian name for Deer Creek, as old Indians have stated that they called it *Hoeyin Tultuh*, or Deer Canyon.

Kawlpawpuh was the name of an old Kumachisi village

3: Latta Y-5 (1923-1948)1949 NS29 Yokuts NS29

to scatter, they were turned by the Indian fence and forced into a frightened, milling mass. 224

One Indian from each tribe or, if only one tribe was present, one Indian from each family, was allowed to enter the circle for the purpose of killing antelope. It is explained that if too many persons were allowed to begin shooting, the line would soon be broken and practically all of the antelope escape. The meat was carried home. Some of it was cooked at once and eaten fresh. The remainder of it was dried for future use. [251]

There is one interesting detail in connection with the surround. It concerns the superstition of the huntsmen regarding the killing of antelope in this way. Sometimes, as the running antelope passed one of the Indians who was doing the shooting, a sharp whistling sound was heard. 224 825

Whether this whistle was caused by the passage of the running animal through the air, or by his breathing, is unknown, but the Indians regarded this noise as of great significance. They would not shoot an antelope from which this sound seemed to come. They said it was made by the ghost of *Peek'-ook*, the little Ground Owl, which after death selected some particular antelope to guard. This attitude on the part of the hunters can be better understood when it is known that the Ground Owl was the represenatitve of the *Ahanich*, or professional singers, who performed at the *Lonewis*, or annual ceremony for the dead. [776] [533 769]

SNARING AND STALKING

Snaring was one of the most interesting and clever Yokuts methods of taking game. We are assured by Indians and pioneer white settlers that almost all kinds of game were taken in this way, ranging in size from the ground squirrel to the elk. 224

The method of snaring was practically the same for all animals. A twig or limb was bent downward and fastened in place by a trigger. Attached to the trigger was a loop made of waxed string, or heavy cord. The loop was placed over a trail, or run-way, or in the mouth of a burrow in such a way that the game would pass part way through it and become entangled in it. As the animal struggled to free itself, the trigger was released and the branch sprang up-right, lifting the game partly or entirely from the ground, where it soon strangled.

In snaring small game a wythe was generally used. The larger end of it was thrust into the ground and the tip bent

3: Latta Y-5 (192[illegible])1949 NS29 Yokuts NS29

[P. 168 not Processed]

CHAPTER X

ARTISTRY

YOKUTS BASKETRY DESIGNS

177 285 531 The most disappointing thing, and one which must be first considered in approaching the subject of basketry designs, is the influence which white "collectors" have had upon the prehistoric designs. Among the many collections which have been made throughout the eastern part of the San Joaquin Valley there are many forms of basketry which have been made to please enthusiastic, if not wise, collectors. This *white* influence reached its greatest depth when Indian basket makers were required to cover whiskey bottles and demijohns with stitched basket materials, copying designs from calico prints.

285 531 The rattlesnake was in olden times probably never shown with a head or tail. Only the pattern on the back of the snake was copied and very cleverly applied to the basket. The snake designs are probably most common of any and are certainly among the most realistic. The stitching of the coiled basket reproduces in a most life-like way the scales of the snake and allows these patterns to be reproduced, although in conventional form, quite true to life. The most common snake forms used are the rattlesnake, king snake, gopher snake, garter snake, and water snake.

The rattlesnake design was often used in connection with the "bottle neck" basket, which was at one time so common on Kaweah, Kern and Tule Rivers. A conventional ant, water skater and quail design is often used in connection with the rattlesnake. The full history of this design is obscured in the past. Quail is represented by a black mark resembling the feathers from the top of his head. Four rectangles form a perfectly charming water skater. Ants are represented by small square dots in groups, or in lines resembling ant trails.

285 531 825 776 The Yokuts rattlesnake was private secretary, or *Winatun*, for *Tihpiknits*, the Yokuts Saint Peter. It was the duty of the rattlesnake to crawl about and locate the Yokuts who were not behaving as good citizens. He sent their names to Tihpiknits, who called them in.

3: Latta Y-5 (1923-1948)1949 NS29 Yokuts NS29

285 531 825 773 [774] Quail was the champion of fair play. Water skater was a messenger, or Winatun. Ant was the person who meted out punishment. As far as the Yokuts knew, for his size, the ant had the most painful sting of anything about them. The story that has been preserved of designs incorporating these three elements is that there was once a bad rattlesnake who turned in the names of good people who were called in by Tihpiknits. Quail learned of this and told the water skaters, who carried the word to the ants, who stung rattlesnake to death and ate him.

285 531 Deer tracks (*hoey'-in trut*) are often used in basket designs and are many times mistaken by collectors to represent arrow points. They are generally represented by two small slender triangles having the adjacent sides parallel and placed close together.

Caterpillars, or worms, are shown by zig-zag lines, often in close series, representing the march of great masses of worms, or in small straight lines about the edge of the basket and representing individual worms.

Sometimes lightning is shown upon the basket and resembles very closely our own conventional form for lightning. The pine tree is represented by a series of triangles placed above each other and gradually diminishing in size toward the top.

Wild geese are very cleverly represented, the brant being easily recognized, although a peculiar conventional form is used. A small rectangle, the outline of which is worked in black, has across the center of it a broad perpendicular dark band which brings to mind quite clearly the marking on the wing of the goose. Extending from one corner of the rectangle at an angle of about forty-five degrees is a straight line which terminates in a short horizontal line representing the head. A series of these figures begins at the bottom of the basket and spirals to the right or left toward the top, illustrating not only the individual bird, but in a very effective way the formation so commonly assumed in flight. Because of the sloping lines above this design, foothill Yokuts generally refer to it as quail, instead of goose.

The bow and arrow is also represented in conventional form, generally by small triangular shapes which really picture arrow points and represent, according to basket makers, not only the arrow, but the bow as well. I have only once seen

3: Latta Y-5 (1923-1948)1949 NS29 Yokuts NS29

Canyon. The last known of these was held on the south Fork of Tule River in the spring of 1890.

To understand something of what was in the Yokuts mind when the Rattlesnake Dance was performed, it is necessary to know the position occupied by the rattlesnake in Yokuts mythology. No full-blood Yokuts I have ever known would kill a rattlesnake. Several pioneer white settlers have told me that when poisoning squirrels, Yokuts workers had refused to kill rattlesnakes, which was considered a part of that work. *Tawpnaw,* an aged Wukchumne, once told me that if a rattlesnake entered a Yokuts house the owner would vacate and turn the house over to the snake.

I believe that most of us would act like the Yokuts, at least until we could find a club and kill the snake. But, I was assured by *Tawpnaw,* no Yokuts would dare to kill a rattlesnake, because the rattlesnake could make him die, even without biting him.

From Tawpnaw, *Yoimut* (a *Chunut*), *Wahumchah* (a *Yowlumne*), *Pahmit* (a *Dumna*), *Ichow* and *Pohut* (*Wukchumne*), *Dr. Bob* (a *Chukaimina*) and perhaps a dozen other aged Yokuts were learned the facts concerning Yokuts beliefs about rattlesnakes.

In Yokuts religion the rattlesnake is the private secretary of *Tihpiknits,* keeper of the Yokuts hereafter. He is more than that. He is a combination of Saint Peter and an F. B. I. operative. It is his business to crawl about and spy on the Yokuts. When he finds a bad Yokuts he sends his name in to Tihpiknits, who immediately calls him in.

The above is illustrated in the Yokuts story of the visit to Tihpiknits *Pahn* (Land). When the husband of the dead wife returns to this world he violates Tihpiknits' orders to keep secret what he has seen. As soon as he disobeys orders he is stricken dead by a rattlesnake.

A folklore story concerning the designs on the typical Yokuts bottlenecked baskets, used by medicine men to nest rattlesnakes, relates to the fatal power of the rattlesnake. On some of these baskets appear the pattern of the diamond back rattlesnake, as well as designs, representing ants and water skaters. Around the edge of the basket are the top-knot feathers from the heads of quail.

In Yokuts mythology the quail is the champion of fair play. The ant, for its size, is noted for dealing out the most punish-

3: Latta Y-5 (1923-1948)1949 NS29 Yokuts NS29

796
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825
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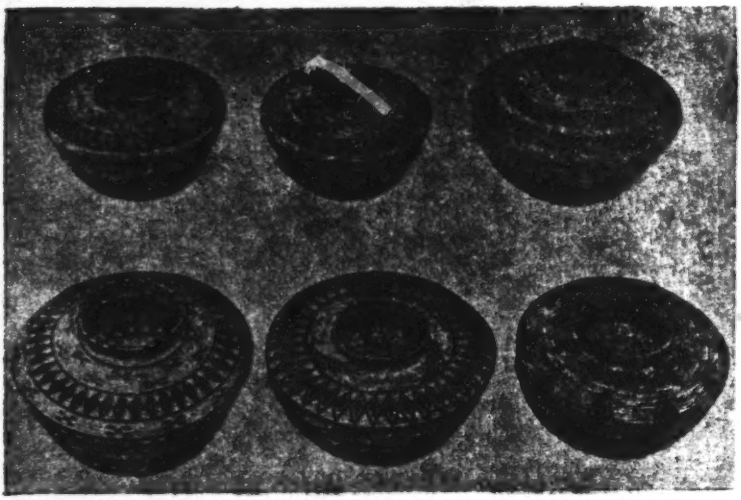

Yokuts bottle-neck baskets used by Rattlesnake Doctors for holding their rattlesnakes. The three baskets at the top carry the rattlesnake design. Lower left: Coral king snake design with water skaters. Lower center: Gopher snake design with ant trails around the neck. Lower right: Gopher snake design.

ment. The water skater is a mythological messenger, or *Winatun*. The Yokuts story is that once a bad rattlesnake sent to Tihpiknits the names of some good people with the result that they died. The quail learned what had been done. They told the water skaters, who carried the word to the ants and the ants stung the rattlesnake to death and ate him. Placed on rattlesnake baskets, these characters are a subtle warning to all rattlesnakes.

The Yokuts Rattlesnake Dance was a spring ceremony. 796
It was performed for the purpose of overcoming the supernatural power of the rattlesnake, as well as to insure against snake bites during the coming summer. Although the actual practices during the ceremony varied somewhat between Tejon Canyon and the San Joaquin River, one hundred and fifty miles to the north, the objectives and the ceremonies themselves were similar.

Believing that the statements of aged Indians who participated in rattlesnake dances would be of most interest to readers, I shall devote most of the remainder of this chapter to such

4: Gayton E-5 (1925-1930)1946

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cases moderately strengthened by reverential observances such as abstinence from its flesh (compulsory for a totemite), propitiation by prayer and eagle-down offerings, dream contact, and possession of a sacred symbolic talisman. In most highly developed form for shamanistic or power quests, these behaviors became a personal preoccupation essential to the maintenance of a beneficent attitude on the part of the animal tutelary .

The reverence for Eagle, Falcon, Cougar, Bear, Coyote (and lesser creatures in lesser ways) was actualized in ceremonies performed over their carcasses by persons of those lineages they symbolized, and witnessed by the usual audience of interested and, in part, participating villagers. The hunters of deer had to observe care in handling their kill. The underlying motive of these acts was that animals who were not "treated right" on this earth, at death reported to their prehistoric counterparts in their eastern home, and the offended creatures would no longer give their support (as either a subsistence or a power source) to the transgressor.

Although in theory it was the primordial animal in its vague eastern home which motivated its living counterpart, it was the latter with which the people were concerned. The reverential relation was a direct one, and in turn it was from the actual animal that help came. Many anecdotes from Yokuts and Mono describe how the tutelary suddenly appeared in a moment of need, though the mechanism of help, beyond a mere appearance, is left undefined—presumably it was "power" (ti´pni) that forced success.

The personal-and-animal association was formalized socially in professional shamanism and politically in the official capacities of chief, messenger, and dance manager—cultural elaborations which have been described elsewhere. And the informal culture of Yokuts and Western Mono abounded in minor, casual usages and references to faunal life.

For the sake of rounding out the picture and not emphasizing exclusively the aspect of culture with which we are concerned, a brief note should be made of Yokuts rituals which were not related explicitly to the extra-personal world. Brief is sufficient, for there was only one set of rituals, that for "life crises," which were not engaged with or dependent upon some seasonal condition in nature. These were the naming of an infant, the mother's cleansing rite, girl's puberty (betrothal) rite,[21] and the private mourning ceremony. With the exception of the naming ceremony all were ritual cleansing ceremonies following the

21 A formal marriage by gift exchange might occur after the betrothal at first menses, but the two rites were not clearly separated by Yokuts and Western Mono; either or both might be made, but the second was not emphasized and seldom followed the first.

6: Gayton E-5 (1925-1928) 1930
NS29 Yokuts NS29

622 648 728

tribe. The chiefs talked the matter over and a truce was settled. Immediately a dance was held which tribes from both sides, i.e., Wobonuch, Entimbich, Waksachi, and Wukchumni, attended. This was the first social intercourse between the tribes of Dunlap valley and those of the Kaweah river drainage. They have kept up friendly relations ever since.

621 625 574

The Wobonuch had no war leader or captain: at Taobin there were two guards who stayed on the trail where it came in between two big rocks. There was a narrow approach of this sort on each side of the village. When strangers appeared these guards would go out to meet them and ask their business. If strangers came along quickly, minding their own business and behaving as if they had some purpose, they would not be harmed, but if a man were seen lurking about in the bush he would be shot at once.

622 648 [776]

The Chunut informant says that occasional intertribal wars occurred but that there was "no special man to lead the fight."[41] She added that chiefs never fought. Any man who was good at fighting would lead the hostilities. Such a man was likely to have raven as his dream helper.

In warfare, then, the chiefs had no active part, but functioned in their traditional rôle of advisors or judiciaries whose decisions were accepted by common consent.

CEREMONIAL DUTIES

622

The chiefs had certain ceremonial duties which informants seemed unable to define clearly. At apparently all public functions the chief made a short speech. Informants sometimes call this a "prayer." He always told the assembled people what the ceremony was to be and why they were making it, but specific remarks for individual occasions the informants could not or would not give.

622 769

The most important speech made by the chief was that at the annual mourning ceremony. This was spoken on the last (sixth) night of the celebration during the "cry" ritual. Among the Wobonuch the chief addressed the mourners at the ceremony just before the destruction of the images of the deceased; "he told them what they were doing and why, and he told them to quit worrying now. 'This is the end of your feeling bad.' "[42]

The Choinimni informant said that the chief made a speech at the cry ceremony but "couldn't remember" what it was about. Another informant, Michahai-Waksachi, said he would repeat what the chief said in this speech "but my language is too short." As a matter of

[41] Josie Alonzo.

[42] 'Mariana Joe, informant, George Dick, interpreter.

6: Gayton E-5 (1925-1928) 1930
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given by the Wukchumni. Pokoi'ik walked up to Wepis and said, "Do you want to die or do you want to live?" He had been making a practice of doing this, and people had to pay him for fear of losing their lives. He had been preying on these two boys for a long time. When the boys went up to this fandango they had planned to kill Pokoi'ik, who, they knew, would be there. But Pokoi'ik knew about this beforehand as doctors usually did. When the boys were on the way home a weird, invisible object made of hair frightened the horse which the two boys were riding. Pokoi'ik had sent it. The horse reared, fell backwards, and crushed Josie's cousin. He died before the night was over.

Poikoi'ik finally died. Somebody poisoned him.

A typical case of a doctor's death due to intervention in another shaman's plans is that of Poso'o (Bob Tista or Bautista). Poso'o was a good doctor with much power, respected by white people as well as the Indians. He was a Tachi, and spent most of his life at the Lemoore rancheria. Josie Alonzo, who recounted the following story, lived with him for the last several years of his life:

At the Tule reservation was an old Humtinin ("southerner") named Tcehĕmsuk, a Koyeti (Y). He had some supernatural power but was a poisoner as well. He has always been at odds with Sam Garfield, a Wukchumni, who with his family lived at Tule River reservation. Tcehĕmsuk asked one of Sam's boys, Pete, a lad of about twenty-one, to come over to his house to drink some coffee. Pete did not want to go, but at the same time was afraid to refuse. Tcehĕmsuk gave him some cold coffee to drink. The following day Pete developed a bad cold, and complained that he "felt like he was burning up inside." They called a white doctor, but Pete's condition continued to get worse so they sent up to Lemoore for Poso'o. When the latter arrived Pete's neck was swollen up on the outside. Poso'o sang and danced for two nights. He cut and sucked the patient's neck but could extract nothing but blood. While he was doing his diagnostic singing none of his dream helpers spoke to him though he followed his formula perfectly.

One of his songs was:

watĭnihe	tsatsana	aṅṭawuhun
whose	chicken hawk down	belonging to a doctor

Now Poso'o himself began vomiting blood. Pete kept getting worse and died in a few days. Finding his efforts useless Poso'o returned to Lemoore. Josie in the meantime had been visiting the Pohots (Wukchumni). When she returned she found Poso'o very ill. He kept vomiting blood. He got much worse and went to bed. He knew that Tcehĕmsuk was making him ill. He tried to kill Tcehĕmsuk (from Lemoore) with his supernatural power but his power was gone. He depended on his own power and would get no other doctor to help him. He sang his songs while he lay in bed but nothing came to him. One of his legs became "nothing but wood"; it burned continually; he could not use it. Josie had him taken to the hospital where he died.

"This Tcehĕmsuk was a big doctor, so was his brother. He had poisoned Pete, but it was with his ṭipni (supernatural) power that he kept Poso'o from curing Pete, and finally killed him too."

In the southern part of the San Joaquin valley women doctors occur, though they are relatively rare. The only account of a woman shaman is that of Poi'in, and her son Watisti, told by Frank Manuel,

8: Kroeber E-5 (1900-1906)1907
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533 30. Another.

539 yahĭ lulumai
192 yahĭmai lulŭmai
sawawa kanama
tanĭyo
yapĭwipiwimai
tawana tsiniyo
hilalĭkiyo
t-awat-i t-awat-

31. Another.

hila ma tă	you
hayăwiyu	(ridicule)
lòkoyowani	(ignorant)
wnatin	whose
humuyu hile	

32. Another.

hòsĭmi	cold
hòsĭwimĭne	cold
wanit wilima	from-far (?)
lană-na-ma	hear
hòsĭmi	cold

782 33. A prayer for good fortune. Yauelmani. Evidently a
788 fixed formula. Spoken rapidly, rhythmically, and monotonously,
with motions of the arms, alternately and together, to the heart
796 and out again. Seven deities are addressed. The impure vowels
found in the names of these deities do not occur in Yauelmani.
The r occurring in pitsuriut is not a Yokuts sound at all.

782	silkawil	nan
	line-ye	me
192	silka-nan	töweiut
	see me	name (= maker)
539	silka-nan	bamăciut
	see me	name
	silka-nan	yoxăxalt
	see me	name (= crusher!)
	silka-nan	etcèpat
	see me	name

538 house in the early evening and stay till they
[883] were "chased home."

171 It is apparent, however, that the "animal
538 transformation" episode serves as a closing incident. While this event is the subject of complete tales, fully developed, it appears in contracted form at the end of almost any myth. This is true of Yokuts and Western Mono particularly, and is somewhat less characteristic of Owens Valley Paiute, Miwok, and Pomo. As tales of more northerly groups are examined, this ending, describing a group transformation which signified the ending of one era and the beginning of the present, gives way to single transformations, either of one's self or another. This individual transformation blends into the Transformer Concept of Plateau-Northwest Coast distribution.

[533] Songs are more frequently introduced in Western Mono myths than in Yokuts, one trait among many which show the close kin of Mono tales with those of the Basin Shoshoneans.[10] On the other hand, conversation appears more often as a stylistic device in Yokuts myths.

538 The persons participating in the tales are
776 few, almost exclusively those "great ones" whose
825 lineages are important in actuality: Eagle, Falcon, Cougar, Coyote, Dove, Crow. Eagle is the creator, but is seldom an actor; there is never a hint that he is anything but wise, just, and powerful. Wolf is the creator or a participant in Western Mono and Yauelmani creation tales. Coyote plays a dual rôle, that of creator or, more often, assistant creator, and that of a dupe. Falcon,[11] the fighter and gambler, is the only person to be favored with a metaphorical title: he is often called "The Fearsome One" (ṭanyiṭit):[12]

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[10]Cf. Sapir, Song Recitative in Paiute Mythology.

171 [11]The simple form "Falcon" has been used
825 throughout as there is doubt in any given instance whether it is the prairie falcon or the peregrine falcon (duck hawk) which is meant. The Yokuts li'mik is supposed to be the prairie falcon (Falco mexicanus) which is identified with kini', the duck hawk (Falco peregrinus anatum), by the Western Mono. For the foothill Yokuts and the Mono mountaineers it is possible that the duck hawk is thought of as the hero. The two birds are not readily distinguishable: "The Prairie Falcon resembles the Duck Hawk in size and actions, though it is not as courageous and 'noble' as the latter .... Both Falcons nest on ledges or in caves of cliffs but the Duck Hawk's aerie commonly overlooks water, while the Prairie Falcon frequently nests in very arid country" (May, Hawks of North America, 107). (See Falcon's Home, abstract 86.)

136 [12]The peregrine falcon (duck hawk) "....is, perhaps the most highly specialized and superlatively well-developed flying organism on our planet today, combining in a marvellous degree the highest powers of speed and aerial adroitness with massive, warlike strength. A powerful, wild, majestic, independent bird, living on the choicest of clean, carnal food, plucked fresh

[A 11-A]

538 His association with Crow is notable. The animal
776 characteristics of these persons are occasionally
825 pointed by their actions, as Buzzard's searching of ravines or Bottlefly's sniffing in all directions. Falcon's abstention from food, his eat-

[Text continued top page 11-B.- Analyst]

CULTURAL POSITION

114 Yokuts mythology, which was aptly character-
171 ized by Kroeber[14] in his pioneer work with Yokuts
538 tales and texts, sets a norm for the mythology
773 of the Central California folk-tale area. This area, as defined by Gayton,[15] is somewhat smaller than the Central California area of tales determined by Kroeber, which he apparently felt coincided with the Central California culture area as conceived by him at that time. That Yokuts should set the norm for the central area is in part due to the extensive territory which the
[197] Yokuts-speaking tribes occupied. Nor is it to be forgotten that the peripheries of the area are virtually within the bounds of the parental Penutian stock common to Maidu, Miwok, and Yokuts. Pomo to the northwest, Western Mono to the east, and Tübatulabal to the southeast, possess transitional phases of the Central Californian mythology.

171 The mythology deals with events and adven-
538 tures in the lives of a superhuman as well as
773 prehuman people who later transformed themselves into birds and animals. The concept of such a period and people is basic to all western North American Indian mythologic and religious beliefs, even when overshadowed by comparatively sumptuous theology and ritualism as in the Southwest. For the Yokuts, it is doubtful that their myths were ever ordered in that "system and sequence" which Dixon credited to Maidu mythology.[16] For us, with our supernormal historical sense, it seems bizarre to deal with the tales in any other than a pseudochronological order. And I am sure any Yokuts, if pushed on the point, would
773 feel that the creation tales should come first,
115 merely as a matter of logic. The Michahai in-
538 formant thought that the acquisition of sun and

[136] from the air or the surface of the waters, rearing its young in the rocks of dangerous mountain cliffs, claiming all the atmosphere as its domain, and fearing neither beast that walks nor bird that flies, it is the very embodiment of noble rapacity and lonely freedom" (May, Hawks of North America, p. 109, quoting G. H. Thayer).

[15] Although "character study" is rarely the object of native tales, there is a Miwok myth (Gifford, MM:323) which seems to have no other purpose than the vivid description of a number of animals. It is superbly done.

[14] Indian Myths of South Central California, pp. 192-194, 195-198.

[15] Areal Affiliations of California Folktales, p. 595.

[16] System and Sequence in Maidu Mythology.

[Text continued bottom page 11-B.—Analyst]

[p 11-B]

538 ing of tobacco for supernatural power, and the
776 fastidious eating of a little liver by Cougar's
825 child while Coyote's brats glut themselves, reflect cultural attitudes as well as describing characteristic animal action.[13]

[FOOTNOTE 13 IS ON p. 11-A - ANALYST]

CULTURAL POSITION

[115] fire followed upon creation; but this man, blind
538 for decades, was exceptionally reflective. For
773 all the other stories there is certainly no notion of a temporal scheme. The "prehistoric" era was thought to have ended with the transformation of the prehumans to animals, yet there is no suggestion that the story of the transformation closes a mythologic cycle. On the contrary, while the event may be told as a discrete tale, it may be appended to any story, as often to that of the creation itself as any other, without chronologic reference to any of those intervening events embodied in other tales. As stated above, the transformation to animals incident really constitutes a literary coda.

171 The creation tale of the Yokuts is brief as
538 compared with those of surrounding tribes. Its
773 essence is the earth-diver incident which, while it may occur, is not emphasized elsewhere in the west. Equally distinctive is the Eagle creator who relegates Coyote to a secondary place, yet is not the so-called "high god" postulated for northern California cultures. Neither do the Yokuts believe in a series of creations and destructions of the universe. In the words of a Wukchumni, "This is the first and only world--there has never been any other." Nor are the creation of man and the origin of cultural institutions matters of interest; they are touched upon briefly, if at all, which contrasts with Pomo and Maidu on the north and Luiseño and Diegueño to the south. The chief points made about mankind are: that he was not permitted to be immortal, his hands were patterned on Lizard's, and he was given, by tribal designation, a particular spot on earth, a "native heath." So much for man and his ways.

171 The Death Controversy tale is told by the
538 Yokuts; the Western Mono add the sequel making the originator of death the first sufferer.

Theft of the Sun (Light), known in the northern section of California, was related in full by only one, the Michahai-Wakasachi informant. The Theft of Fire fares better, being known to all. But again, rather than following the relay theft formula of northern Californian and Basin variants, a single thief, usually Jack Rabbit, turns the trick. Eagle arranged for deer to be hunted, but by raising an evil smell Coyote frightened them away, just as he did in Great Basin stories of the Scattering of Deer.

The more novelistic tales which recount adventures of the animal people focus their interest

[Text continued on page 14-A.-Analyst]